

21872

One day Senator GOLDWATER tells us we are developing missiles at exactly the correct pace; later he tells us we are in second place to Russia in missiles.

One day Senator GOLDWATER says it is "absolutely essential" that we get a man on the moon; later he tells us, "I don't want to hit the moon."

Last December, Senator GOLDWATER commended the closing of unneeded military bases; but now he states that at least some of these bases should stay open.

Senator GOLDWATER has said that NATO was "doomed to failure." Now he tells us it is our first line of defense.

Senator GOLDWATER calls tactical nuclear weapons "conventional." But he does not say how "conventional" the atomic radiation is these weapons produce; or how many times more powerful they are than any conventional weapons used, in Korea or World War II.

To me, saddest of all, is Senator GOLDWATER's statement that war is inevitable—real nuclear war—within 5 or 10 years.

That I cannot accept. If this Nation continues to maintain its present strength, and continues to inform the world about that strength, I do not believe any nation would decide to destroy itself by attacking the United States.

#### CRIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, not too long ago I had occasion, upon the floor of the Senate, to speak about the lawless situation and the crime situation in Washington. Since then we have had all kinds of remarks from the chief of police and other people trying to allay the fears of the people about the crime situation in Washington. Nothing will change the fact that the streets of Washington, D.C., are a jungle upon which no woman; nor almost any man, is safe after darkness falls.

Despite the statistics that have been quoted, Washington, D.C., has the highest crime rate in the United States in assaults with deadly weapons. This is a fact no one can get around.

At the time I formerly spoke I was paying tribute to a secretary in my office, Miss Joyce Morgan, for having the foresight to pick up a pistol and defend herself when a young hoodlum, who had a previous record and conviction, entered her apartment by breaking the chain on the door and attempted to rob the apartment. At that time I said the shot she fired ought to deter that young man from attempting anything like that in the near future.

I have just learned this week that the same man—the same hoodlum, that same hooligan—was released by the police of Washington on what the morning paper of this city described as a \$5,000 bond, but which was actually a bond signed only by himself. It had no sureties or assurance behind it at all. So this young hoodlum with a record, who barely escaped losing his life or serious injury by the grace of the Lord, was released to prey on the people of this community by the police of this community upon his own recognizance.

Last Saturday night, this same young hooligan entered another apartment in this city and stole jewels which are valued at approximately \$700, and was re-arrested and rearraigned.

I call attention to this situation because I believe that, so long as the police of this city deal with these problems in this way and with this looseness, we shall not see any solution to the crime problem in Washington, D.C.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 2049) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to accept gifts and bequests for the purposes of the Department of Commerce, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 2687) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5932) to amend the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 so as to authorize certain teachers employed by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to participate in a health benefits plan established pursuant to such act and to amend the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 so as to extend insurance coverage to such teachers.

#### AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11380) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I should like to make a few remarks about the situation in which the Senate finds itself at this time. In the 2 weeks which preceded Saturday, August 22, I believe most Members of the U.S. Senate thought it would be possible to adjourn the Senate and finish our business, business which needs to be badly done, by the time of the Democratic National Convention, which began August 24. At that time we had before us the Mansfield-Dirksen amendment, which I support. I do not support other substitutes which have been proposed. I was surprised that a group of so-called liberal Senators would take it upon themselves to conduct a filibuster upon this matter.

I am sensitive about filibusters. My friends from the Southern States who hold a different view on civil rights than I do were taken to task day after day and week after week, during consideration of the civil rights bill, by the same liberal Senators, who said that they had a right to vote upon issues which were presented to the Senate.

No Senator can assert that he does not know what the issues are with re-

spect to the pending amendments. I make these remarks because I feel not only that the Senate has been unjustifiably delayed, but that those who have carried on this filibuster have carried it on to the detriment of the Senate and to the detriment of the Congress, and that they have themselves been guilty of doing the same thing for which they categorically denounced Senators who held a different view on civil rights than they themselves held.

I have supported motions for cloture, particularly with respect to civil rights bills. I supported a motion for cloture upon this particular matter. I feel—and it applies to any question that comes before the Senate—that any Senator has a right to debate it, and debate it at length, but that no group or individual Senator has a right to prevent the Senate from voting upon a proposal which is placed before it, which we all understand, and which has been debated and discussed in every newspaper and every periodical, and perhaps in every meeting of lawyers in the United States.

I am happy to see a resolution of this matter today, but it is a resolution which I think might well have been arrived at before August 22.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I would like to add, if I have the Senator's permission, that, whatever happens to this legislation from now on, the Senate has already expressed its opinion of the Supreme Court's decision when it refused, by a vote of 49 to 38, to table the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment. That was the vote on what we thought of the Court's decision. There were 13 absentees. I am sure there were at least five on each side. So we may assume that the Senate, in the proportion of 55 to 45, expressed its strong disapproval of the action of the courts of this country in undertaking to interfere with the operation of the States and the communities of the United States.

Whatever happens from now on, we have had our vote. We have expressed our disapproval of the Court's decisions. We hope that something may happen. I would like to see a constitutional amendment submitted to the vote of either all the people or State by State. There is no question about how the vote would come out. Our friends who have been carrying on the filibuster over the weeks have been determined that the people should not have an opportunity to vote, either by themselves or through their elected representatives in Congress.

Mr. ALLOTT. The Senator is entirely correct. I appreciate his constructive comments. It is nothing new to disagree with a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. It is the prerogative, and even the duty, of Congress to take adequate steps to correct those areas in which the Court may have gone awry and in which, in the opinion of Congress, it has gone awry. That is what we have been attempting to do.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, we have disagreed with Supreme Court decisions before. I believe that sometimes the

on the party machinery strong enough to survive a Goldwater defeat.

The same holds true of the Republican National Committee. Here the bonus places, given to States carried by the Republican ticket, now seem likely to go, in the main, to Southern racists; and these bonus seats may conceivably assure a pro-Goldwater majority strong enough to withstand an electoral disaster.

\* Altogether, the Goldwater campaign and its consequences and sideshows provide much food for thought.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 15, 1964]

#### THE HALLMARK OF GOLDWATERISM

(By Walter Lippmann)

Senator GOLDWATER has been telling the country that the President has become much too powerful and that this very powerful President has been much too weak to win the cold war and stamp out crimes of violence in our city streets. The Senator has based his campaign on the thesis that the powers of the Presidency must be reduced and that then a smaller and weaker President can and should do away with the most troublesome problems at home and abroad.

This central contradiction is the hallmark of Goldwaterism. The Senator finds it easy to believe that a smaller, shrunken, much less costly government can overawe the Communist nations jointly and severally, can command the Western alliance, and can put Latin America in order. In BARRY GOLDWATER'S mind a cheaper government could act more strongly, a weaker government could see that the cities are successfully policed.

How, one must ask, can we run the world and yet pay less? The fact, to be sure, is that to do what Senator GOLDWATER wants to have done demands a much more powerful government than we have today. Why does he think it doesn't? The plain truth, I submit, is that he is a dreamer, that when BARRY GOLDWATER talks about public affairs, he lives in a world of fantasy. He dreams that all things are possible. For it is only in the world of dreams that weaker Presidents can do gigantic things, that great results can be achieved at little cost.

This unworldliness is a part of his personal attractiveness. In his world everything becomes possible when you have said that it should happen. There is no clash between the theories and the facts. The hard realities do not really exist. It was this boy who has never grown up fully who said the other day that when he was President he would install his ham radio set in the White House and would then be able to talk to a number of heads of State.

This unworldly divorce from reality is not always charming. Many dreams can be quite cruel, and when Senator GOLDWATER talks about the poor he can be very cruel. He has been making much of our common worries about the increase of crime and, exploiting this worry for political purposes, he has been claiming that he, BARRY GOLDWATER, can stop the crime which Lyndon Johnson is, so says GOLDWATER, promoting.

How is President Johnson promoting crime? By backing the Civil Rights Act and by sponsoring social security and welfare measures. These, according to Senator GOLDWATER'S Minneapolis speech, are causing "a breakdown in private responsibility" and in "respect for law and order." The Senator asks that "if it is entirely proper for Government to take from some to give to others, then won't some men be led to believe that they can rightfully take from anyone who has more than they?"

This must be about the first time in 200 years that any public man has argued that charity corrupts the characters of the poor. It is not only charity that is corrupting the poor. The search for justice is also cor-

rupting the poor. The Goldwater theory about civil rights for Negroes is that by enacting laws about these rights the Negroes have been incited to demand these rights. According to one of his leading supporters, perhaps the most distinguished intellectual in the Goldwater camp, Prof. Milton Friedman of Chicago University, the Civil Rights Act "has directed Negro resentment against whites."

Thus, it is not the grievances that incite the Negroes; it is the effort to redress the grievances.

The campaign has been underway only for about 2 weeks and it begins to look as if the real issue to be decided is not whether this or that policy or this or that piece of legislation is sound but whether BARRY GOLDWATER is fit to be President in the hard world of reality.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I thank my distinguished colleague the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] for yielding to me.

#### THE POSITION OF THE DEFENSES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I would speak today about our national defense posture, a subject with which I have been associated directly, or indirectly, for over 20 years.

Our military strength today is unparalleled in world history.

The strategic forces of the United States are, and will remain in the 1960's, and I would hope thereafter, sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, or any other aggressor, under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war.

These strategic forces, together with our expanded and revitalized limited war forces, enable us to meet any aggression, across the entire spectrum of possible military conflict.

There should be no doubt of this in the mind of any American. In any case, there is none in the minds of our enemies.

We have this overwhelming military power today; and the Kennedy-Johnson administration had a great deal to do with creating that power.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration has increased our defense budget by \$30 billion since 1961.

By budgeting more than \$200 billion for national defense in the last 4 fiscal years, the Kennedy-Johnson administration has attained—

A 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads, and a 200-percent increase in total megatonnage in our strategic alert forces.

A 60-percent increase in the tactical nuclear force in Western Europe.

A 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

A 44-percent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.

A 75-percent increase in airlift capability.

A 100-percent increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.

An 800-percent increase in the special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

We now have a 4-to-1 superiority over the Soviet Union in bombers, a 4-to-1 superiority over the Soviet Union in ICBM's, and almost a 2-to-1 superiority

over the Soviet Union in submarine-launched missiles which are superior in range, launch capability, and performance to anything the Russians have at sea.

By 1970, we will have more than a thousand intercontinental ballistic missiles, and 656 operational Polaris submarine-launched missiles, poised to strike any aggressor.

In addition to strengthening our conventional and nuclear forces, this administration has increased expenditures for military research and development by 50 percent over the level prevailing during the last 4 years of the last Republican administration.

This research and development program has initiated, or completed such weapons systems as—

The new SR-71 Strategic Air Command supersonic aircraft.

The new Minuteman II intercontinental ballistic missile system.

Amazing new radar which actually sees around the curvature of the earth to detect missile launchings.

Two hostile satellite destroying systems which President Johnson recently announced in Seattle.

These are the facts of our overwhelming national military strength. This tremendous power, this power to devastate a large part of mankind, demands a firm, prudent, wise man to control it. It demands a man who knows what that power can do, and what it cannot do without causing a nuclear war.

In less than 60 days the people of this Nation will choose that man—the man whose finger will control the nuclear trigger—the man who may decide the future of life on this planet.

President Johnson has said, "We must be strong enough to win any war, but wise enough to prevent one."

President Johnson says that "no President of the United States can divest himself of the responsibility" to decide on the use of nuclear weapons.

Senator GOLDWATER tells us he would "cut taxes" and "eliminate the military draft," and be prepared to undertake military operations against the vulnerable members of the Communist bloc, thereby confronting the Soviet Union with the choice between "local defeat" and "nuclear disaster." But he does not tell us what happens to our country, if the Soviets choose nuclear war.

Senator GOLDWATER says that we must spend more for defense. But he tells us he will also cut our budget drastically.

He says we must be strong, but he would erode the draft without any plausible alternatives.

Our Military Establishment in this country has been governed for 175 years by the principle of civilian control over the military. But Senator GOLDWATER tells us, "I fear the civilians. They are taking over," and he asks, "How can we possibly reason that an all-powerful civilian command is less dangerous than a military command?"

One day Senator GOLDWATER tells us we have a missile which can hit the men's room in the Kremlin. Later he says of our missiles, "I have very strong doubt about their reliability."